SPECIAL
COLLECTIONS
DOUGLAS
LIBRARY

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
AT KINGSTON

KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA

REFLECTIONS

PREVIOUS TO THE

Eſtabliſhment of a MILITIA.

LONDON:

Printed for R. and J. DODSLEY in *Pall-mall.*

MDCCLVI.

REFLECTIONS

PREVIOUS TO THE

Eſtabliſhment of a MILITIA.

REMARKABLE Changes in Policy commonly ariſe from ſome urgent Occaſion; and the Projects of ſpeculative Men meet with little Attention, when not ſupported by a prevailing Senſe of Neceſſity or Expedience. One Step indeed may lead to another; but political Bodies ſeem unable to move, in any Inſtant, beyond the Suggeſtion of their preſent Feelings. National Inſtitutions therefore ſeldom come early enough to prevent Inconveniencies, they generally follow, and are intended to remove ſome real Complaint.

When we conſider the Succeſſion of Events in *Britain*, it muſt be owned

3030508

that few Nations have been ſo happy in the Changes they have undergone, or in the new Inſtitutions they have occaſionally adopted. Even Diſſention, Faction, and Civil War have ended in ſome Accommodation to the Advantage of Liberty and juſt Government. Such a Reflection may reconcile us, in ſome Degree, to the bitter Experience which hath taught our Anceſtors Wiſdom, and diminiſh our Regret amidſt Loſſes and Alarms, which give a Proſpect of any wiſe Eſtabliſhment yet wanting in our Country.

In former Wars this Nation felt, only, their Strength, their Fleets were triumphant on every Sea, and carried the Terror of their Name to the moſt diſtant Parts of the Globe. Their Wealth found Allies, and put numerous Armies in Motion on the Continent, where their Enemy found ſufficient Occupation for his Powers. In the preſent War, when engaged ſingly with a powerful Enemy, they have felt their Weakneſs too. Their Weapons, it ſeems, are formed to wound at a Diſtance, in cloſe Fight their Boſom

is

is bare and defenceleſs. No ſooner did the Enemy threaten to invade this Iſland, but we appeared unequal to the Defence of any diſtant Poſſeſſions. Our numerous Fleets were occupied in guarding the Coaſt at home, and a Declaration of War, in which we threatened to force our Enemy to a Reparation of Injuries, ſeems to have brought upon us, only, a new Expence in defending ourſelves. Such Appearances call for ſome wiſe and deep laid Eſtabliſhment, which may form a domeſtic Strength, and provide for the Security of this Nation. Our Example hath taught the *French* to take Commerce in Aid of their military Power. They have felt the Advantage of trading Colonies, and the Neceſſity of a powerful Marine. Their Example, their Menaces, and the preſent Occaſion, ſhould teach us in our turn to mix the military Spirit with our civil and commercial Policy. The Nation is now come to a general Senſe of this Ttuth, and almoſt every Addreſs to the Throne hath contained expreſs Repreſentations to this Purpoſe. It is far from my Intention to inflame any

preſent Animoſity. On the contrary, I think it Matter of Regret, that the Murmurs of a diſcontented Nation ſhould afflict the Ears of an aged Prince, on the Verge of a Reign, ſo happy in its domeſtic Influence, tho' not remarkable for ſuch Events as amuſe Poſterity.

It is indeed happy for us in many Reſpects, that the Public is free enough to cenſure, or to commend an Adminiſtration; but it is the Manner of Men to judge abruptly from Events, and call for Redreſs, in their Troubles, with ſuch Impatience, that the ableſt Miniſter may appear tardy in giving the public Affairs a new and a more ſatisfying Aſpect. A Miniſter, it is thought, on whom this Burden may fall, will find the Eſtabliſhment of a Militia one Power by which his Labour may be diminiſhed. But to arm a People, and to renew the Habits of military Men, will require great Wiſdom in the Inſtitution, and ſome Length of Time to attain its Maturity. It is hoped, however, that from ſuch Beginnings, as the Times will ſuggeſt, this Nation may proceed, and, by fu-

ture

ture Corrections, appear equally happy in this as in other Branches of their domeſtic Policy.

Every body will call to mind, on this Occaſion, that our Anceſtors were unacquainted with ſtanding Armies; that the People were once, not only ſufficient for their own Defence, but often carried War with Succeſs into their Enemy's Country. Their Bravery and military Spirit will be magnified, to ſerve as an Example to the preſent Times, and to ſilence ſuch as pretend to treat a popular Militia with Contempt. The Examples of many an Age in *Europe*, the more recent Inſtances of a Militia oppoſed with Succeſs even to regular Armies, will prove that what is propoſed, and appears to be ſo earneſtly deſired by this Nation, is not impracticable. Such Examples are not, however, in all Points applicable to our preſent Caſe. Our Anceſtors were a People, in many Reſpects, different from what we now are. The very Miſeries and Inconveniencies they laboured under, bred them to the Uſe of Arms and a warlike Diſpoſition. Laws

were

were imperfect, and ill executed; every Individual was forced to the Uſe of Arms for his own Security. What are now become Suits at Law, were then Quarrels decided by the Edge of the Sword. Every Family in the Country had its Rival, and the Dependents of each were nurſed up in mutual Jealouſy and Animoſity; they were fond of the Sword, becauſe it was their beſt Security; and Bravery was always eſteemed in the firſt Rank of Virtue, becauſe they were ſo often expoſed to the Need of it. Thus uſed to Arms from their early Years, and marked out for Honour or Contempt as they excelled in the Uſe of them, the People conſiſted of Soldiers and Men of Valour, who, from Neceſſity, Habit, and Deſire of Praiſe, were continually armed, and embraced Fatigue and Danger with Avidity. Arts and Commerce were little practiſed; War furniſhed the only Profeſſion thought worthy a Freeman. If to theſe Circumſtances we add the Nature of their Government, ſo much a-kin to military Subordination, we ſhall ſee the Grounds of that martial Spirit which

which prevailed in the early Ages of our Country, and be able to account for the Readineſs, with which the Militia in former times appeared in the Field. The Court was an Aſſembly of Barons, who held of the King by a military Tenure. Each Baron was followed by Vaſſals, who held of him upon a like Condition; and the Subordination was continued downwards, by equal Steps, to the Maſs of the People. In time of Peace they reſembled a great Army in Cantonments, where each Band acknowledged its Leader; and every Alarm brought them to the Field with a Love of Glory, and a Familiarity with Arms, more formidable than the exacteſt Diſcipline. The further we look back into Hiſtory, the more we ſhall find this national Character ſunk in Barbarity; but, as we advance, mere Ferocity, and the Deſire of Rapine, by Degrees give way to milder Principles. The ſame Diſtinction being ſtill connected with the Profeſſion of Arms, the ſame Vigour remained, ariſing from a Senſe of national and perſonal Honour.

The

The Manners of a Nation ſhift by Degrees, and the State of civil Policy, and of Commerce, at which we are arrived, have greatly affected our Manners in this Particular. By the firſt, Individuals are fully ſecured under the Protection of the Laws. Wrongs are leſs frequent, and private Revenge is prohibited; Family Animoſities are no longer attended with Hoſtilities, and the Uſe of Arms, ariſing from the Neceſſity of Self-defence, hath ceaſed. Our Situation, as an Iſland, hath leſſened our Fears even of a foreign Enemy, and we want that Vigilance which is found in other Nations, who, being more expoſed, are reduced to ſtudy the Attack and Defence of a Frontier, as an Object of the firſt Importance. Other Nations in *Europe* are become equally mild; but our Situation is peculiar, and it may be doubted whether we muſt not, for ever, come ſhort of our Neighbours in the ſeveral Particulars, which compoſe the Art of War, becauſe we have not the ſame Occaſion to ſtudy and practice them. Our Commerce hath no leſs affected our Manners. It has increaſed our Wealth,

Wealth, and Wealth has become in a great meaſure the Mark of Diſtinction and Honour. Our Hands are employed in Arts and Manufactures, and Traders are upon the ſame Level, and mixed with our Gentry. That Contempt of lucrative Arts, which prevailed in former Times, has diſappeared, and we are now guided in the Choice of a Profeſſion, by the Conſideration of its Profits and Emoluments. Even our Gentry have learned to eſtimate Profeſſions in the ſame Manner, and we may well be aſhamed to own, how few are found in our Army, to whom the Pay is no Temptation. The Profeſſion of Arms, ſo becoming the Birth and Station of a Gentleman, is not courted, becauſe its Profits are trivial. This Reflection is to the Honour of a few who muſt be excepted, becauſe, to reſiſt the Stream, or riſe above the common Level, is a Proof of uncommon Vigour; and when in the Beginning of a War we find Gentlemen of independent Fortune crowd into the Army, we may congratulate the Nation on this Proof of her remaining Strength. In

other Countries, People of Quality have no other Profeſſion which they can follow with Dignity. In our's, the Contempt of it often aſſumes the Air of Wiſdom; and a Perſon who could never raiſe his Mind beyond the Ideas of Intereſt and Profit, ſtill pretends to look down for an Inferiour. The Air and Dreſs of an Officer may dazzle at firſt; but when it recurs that he has but little Money in his Pocket, the Name is turned to Deriſion and Contempt. It is the Condition of grovelling Minds, that they cannot form a Conception beyond their own Level, nor ſee that others move in a Sphere above them, who, negligent of Intereſt and Profit, are animated with the Love of Honour and commendable Action, and are rouzed when the Safety of their Country calls to Fatigue and Danger. It is to be hoped, that many of our young People diſcover a Fondneſs for the Army from ſuch Principles. And when, in Preference to what is more lucrative, they embrace a Profeſſion which appears buſtling and active, connected with Honour and Glory, it were

were to be wiſhed that our general Maxims were more favourable to feed and encourage this Spirit.

But when I impute the Decline of our martial Diſpoſition to thoſe very Circumſtances which we muſt value the moſt, I ſhall perhaps be underſtood to ſpeak unfavourably for the Inſtitution which I have profeſſed to recommend. The happy Form of our Government; the ſacred Authority with which our Laws execute themſelves; the Perfection to which Arts are arrived; the Extent of our Commerce, and Increaſe of our People; the Degrees of Taſte and Literature which we poſſeſs; the Probity and Humanity which prevail in our Manners; are Circumſtances which a Nation may be allowed to boaſt of. Such is the height to which every improving Nation aſpires, and at which but a few have arrived. We are however to blame for having ſuffered theſe calm and halcyon Days to lull us ſo entirely aſleep. It may be allowed that the Perfection now attained in every Art, and the Attention required to furniſh what is demanded in eve-

ry Branch of Buſineſs, have led away from the military Profeſſion great Numbers of our People; and that Applications are become frequent, which ſeem to diſqualify Men in a great Degree for the Uſe of Arms. But Self-defence is the Buſineſs of all: and we have already gone too far, in the Opinion that Trade and Manufacture are the only Requiſites in our Country. In Purſuit of ſuch an Idea, we labour to acquire Wealth; but neglect the Means of defending it. We would turn this Nation into a Company of Manufacturers, where each is confined to a particular Branch, and ſunk into the Habits and Peculiarities of his Trade. In this we conſult the Succeſs of Manufacture; but ſlight the Honours of the human Nature: we furniſh good Work; but educate Men, groſs, ſordid, void of Sentiment and Manners, who may be pillaged, inſulted, and trod upon by the Enemies of their Country. We are yet many Degrees removed from this Extremity. The Body of a great People ſtill remains, along with whoſe Occupations the occaſional Uſe of Arms is natural: we may even

hope

hope to ſtir the Lethargy of leſs favourable Occupations, and gain in Dignity and Strength the little we may loſe on the Side of Induſtry. Our People are remarkable for Public Spirit; it operates in our domeſtic Policy: but is not equally prepared againſt a foreign Enemy. Too ſcrupulous a Caution with reſpect to the Diſturbances which might ariſe from Faction, and even our Attention to preſerve the Game, have, with other Conſiderations, made our Government induſtrious to check and prohibit the uſe of Arms: and I do not know by what Fatality the Spirit of military Men has even declined among our Nobility. I will not ſpare any Cenſure where Perſons of this honourable Claſs have formed themſelves upon Maxims unworthy of their Station. Can Men born to Titles of Nobility, derived from honourable Anceſtors, born to Affluence and a liberal Education, give up their Minds to the Views of Profit and Intereſt alone? The Ideas of their Station are thoſe of Diſtinction and Honour, their very Vices ſhould ſpring from that Source,

and

and the leading Virtue in their Breaſt ſhould be a Contempt of Intereſt and of Life, when their own or their Country's Honour is at Stake. This Cenſure I hope willnot fall upon many; we have indeed ſuffered Repoſe to ſteal upon our Minds, but the Spirit is not extinct. Perhaps the Buſineſs of an Officer in Time of Peace, appears to have no Temptation on the ſide of Glory. Perhaps our Nobility are averſe to the Subordination and Attendance it requires; they fear the Vexations which every Conſtable may deviſe for them in Country Quarters; they deſpiſe the inceſſant Duty of the Parade, or that of being employed as Recruiting Officers to enſnare the Refuſe of their Country into the Service. It will be happy for us if any Excuſe is found conſiſtent with their Honour. If that Principle remains we are ſafe, and the Public may find Means of renewing its Activity.

I have been ſo particular in repreſenting the State of our Manners, a State which every civilized, and above all every commerical People has a natural Tendency to; that we might not ruſh upon this Subject without

without knowing its Difficulties. We have not now to do with the fierce and rapacious Spirit of our early Anceſtors; nor with the ſworn Fidelity of Vaſſals; nor with the Idleneſs, Elevation of Mind, and Averſion to Labour, which threw every Freeman of old into the Profeſſion of Arms. The Hearts of our People are not Steel, they are ſoftened by a Diſuſe of Arms, by Security, and pacific Employments. We muſt not therefore think that the Name of a Militia, and a few Arms ſent to the Country, will at once find Soldiers ready to receive them. The Springs muſt be cleared at the Bottom, otherwiſe what we do on the Surface will not enlarge or quicken the Stream. A few ſtated Hours of Exerciſe, without any other Uſe of Arms, might have expoſed the Attempt to Ridicule, betrayed an Averſion to the Buſineſs, and for ever diſhonoured the Name of a Militia.

The Feeling of a Man unaccuſtomed to uſe a Weapon, is a Fear that it may hurt himſelf; that of a Man familiar with the Uſe of it, is a Confidence that it will hurt his Enemy; and each is ſo much poſſeſſed with

with the Idea which ſtrikes him, that he often forgets every other one. I will therefore be ſo bold, in the firſt Step on this Subject, as to propoſe that every Reſtraint ſhould be taken away by which the People are hindered from having or amuſing themſelves with Arms. The Poachers of *Great Britain*, ſo much the Averſion of our Squires, if aſſembled in a Body might do excellent Service againſt an Enemy. Men are fond of trying a Skill, which they are conſcious of, and if we abandon our Hares and Partridges to the People, we ſhall find them better qualified hereafter to defend our other Poſſeſſions. To mention ſuch a Sacrifice hath an Air of Ridicule; but Amuſements which are habitual, and ſerve to fill up the Leiſure of an idle Life, become Matters of Conſequence. We will therefore chearfully own the Merit of Perſons who abridge their Pleaſure in ſuch Articles; but muſt inſiſt that Gentlemen, who hold ſerious Meetings for the Preſervation of the Game, would have ſome Regard to the Preſervation of their Country. We would gladly hope that a late

late Advertiſement hath only called them together, to put an End to this Concert; and they may perhaps favour us with an account of the Poachers, whom they have not been able to exterminate, that we may compute the preſent Strength of our Country. To the Profeſſion of Poaching, we may join the frequent Practice of Shooting at a Mark, where the Prize as a Badge of Honour, and the Emulation might animate our People; and ſurely to promote ſuch Trials of Skill, would be more worthy of our Gentlemen, than the Matches and Betts, for which they are become the Objects of Ridicule to all *Europe*.

Here I will venture to differ from a very common Opinion, and affirm that the Practice of ſuch Motions as form the Military Exerciſe, is far from being ſufficient to train a Soldier. He learns indeed to handle his Arms with Eaſe and Quickneſs; but is not inſpired with a love of Arms: on the contrary, they become his Averſion, from the Drudgery and tireſome Hours which they occaſion. He acquires no Confidence in the Uſe of

them, becauſe no Part of his Exerciſe tends to ſhew their Effect. He learns to fire with the Multitude without ſeeing an Enemy, and can ſcarcely ever be brought to reſerve his Fire till he can apply it to moſt Advantage. The Skill and Confidence derived from the Uſe of Arms in Sport or Trials of Dexterity are very different, and if united with ſome Degree of the former, our Militia would ſoon become a Strength to the Country. The beſt Leſſon of the Parade is a Habit of Submiſſion to abſolute Command: there every Battalion learns to unite and obey; it becomes like the Bundle of Rods, ſtrong when in Order and united, even tho' Individuals have no great perſonal Confidence, or Fondneſs for the Buſineſs. This is the Effect of military Order and Obedience: but it may be doubted whether a Militiacan ever ſufficiently attain to it, and certainly ſhould not truſt to inferior Degrees of Order and Diſcipline alone. We muſt therefore ſtudy to inſpire them with that Familiarity and Liking to Arms, which will give every ſingle Man a Confidence.

Men

Men ſo prepared, in a Croud, and with lit-Order, are qualified to produce a like and more fatal Confuſion in the Battalions of an Enemy.

Along with this general Permiſſion, the Law ſhould perhaps enjoin that every Family poſſeſſing a certain Number of Acres, ſhould be furniſhed with all the Particulars now required to arm one Man. The general Permiſſion, it is hoped, would revive and diffuſe the Love of Arms among our People; and the laſt Article mentioned would ſecure a Force in the Hands of that Part of the Nation, which is the leaſt corrupted, and the moſt to be truſted with its internal Peace. I cannot think it neceſſary to point at any Regulation, by which the military Spirit might be promoted among our Gentry. When the Way is opened to them, the very Biaſs of their Situation will lead them into it. They are poſſeſſed of hereditary Diſtinction; whatever therefore comes attended with farther Diſtinction and Honour muſt engage their Minds. And we may hope to ſee their Education better directed, and more effectual in furniſhing

their Minds with ſuch Knowledge, and forming their Perſons by ſuch Exerciſes, as give the Accompliſhments, the Manners, and Air of Gentlemen. If we ſucceed in rendering the People familiar with Arms, we may go on to ſettle the Form of a Militia with Confidence; the Order of our Policy will lead us in adjuſting the Particulars of Command and Subordination, and the Time which other Occupations may allow, for Exerciſe, and Parade, will be ſufficient.

To create a military Force, two things are chiefly required. That the Body of the People out of which our Regiments are to be formed by Rotation, ſhould be acquainted with Arms, and value themſelves upon the Uſe of them. That the proper Degree of Authority and Subordination ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and the Habit of military Obedience provided for.

In theſe two ways we ſtrive to produce Courage and Diſcipline. For the firſt, I have already propoſed a general Uſe of Arms among the People. It is an obvious and a promiſing Meaſure, and there is abundance

abundance of Reaſon to recommend it; but Objections may croud upon us, which ſeem to ballance thoſe Reaſons, and diſſuade the Meaſure. I ſhall therefore conſider ſuch of them, as appear the moſt important.

It may occur, that we are a divided People; that Factions ſtill ſubſiſt, which build their peculiar Tenets upon Views deſtructive of the Government, and our Liberties; that therefore we cannot admit a promiſcuous Uſe of Arms, without ſome Danger from this Quarter.

It has ever been the Practice of Parties in Power to diſarm and depreſs their Adverſaries. This indeed appears to be the high Road of Self-preſervation and Security; but we may ſtill admit a Queſtion: whether another Path might not be found, leading more directly to national Proſperity and Happineſs. It will, I preſume, be owned, that invidious Diſtinctions among a People ſerve to foment and embitter their Diviſions: that Animoſities, which might otherwiſe ſubſide, are thereby perpetuated; and Differences, which might gradually

be

be forgotten, are marked with ſuch external Diſtinctions as for ever revive them in the Mind. The Difference of Opinion, and Party Views form one Ground of Animoſity; unequal Treatment and inferior Privilege furniſh another ſtill more exaſperating. If a Faction ſhould threaten immediate Diſturbance, Vigilance and Severity no doubt muſt be oppoſed to it: but Men of Ability can eaſily diſcern ſuch an Occaſion, and will know, how to proportion the Marks of Diſtruſt and Severity, and how to aſſume an Air of Serenity and Confidence as the Danger removes. Under ſuch Treatment the Aſperity of Faction is mitigated, and the Animoſities of Men are ſuffered to ſhift with their Manners and the Revolutions of Ages. We would render thoſe we truſt more warlike, and the Objects of our Suſpicion leſs dangerous: but it may be doubted, whether a Diſtinction made in permitting the Uſe of Arms would have this Effect. To be refuſed the Uſe of Arms, in the Face of a Country poſſeſs'd of this Advantage, would give the Spirit a new Edge; would create

a Deſire,

a Deſire, and ſtir up a Rancour in the Heart, more hoſtile and dangerous than any Habit acquired by a free and common Uſe of Arms ſhared with the Multitude. Men of Reflection will give this Reaſoning its proper Weight. Great Minds have been remarkable for Confidence, and have been remarkable too for Succeſs, perhaps in ſome meaſure owing to the Attachment and Fidelity they every where found in return to their generous and engaging Proceedings. We may add, that a Diſtinction, which might become the Subject of Diſpute, in the Caſe of every Perſon, who pretended to have Arms, would diſcover a new Scene for the Practice of Envy and Malice; and give an Opportunity for ſervile and undeſerving Men to aſſume an Air of Importance at the Expence of Merit. A little Acquaintance with the Hiſtory of *Great Britain* may furniſh Examples to this Purpoſe, and lead to Inſtances, wherein Government hath promoted Diſaffection, by imputing it where it was not clearly due, and inflamed it by inſulting Men with Marks of Diſtruſt, whilſt the

proper

proper Caution, againſt a Danger ſo increaſed, was neglected.

It muſt be owned, however, in the preſent Queſtion, that the Numbers and Force of the Diſaffected are to be conſidered. If we are in the Proportion of a Garriſon to a conquered City, it is prudent to diſarm and watch the Inhabitants that they may not overpower us: but if our Proportion is that of a whole Army to a few in its Ranks, who are inclined to favour the Enemy, or to deſert, we cannot fear a Danger from the Arms of a few, whom we can force to act, even, againſt the Enemy they favour. I will not pretend to aſſign the Proportion, in which the Diſaffected are found in any Part of this Iſland: but we may affirm with Confidence that the Proportion is in many Degrees below an Equality. Indeed whilſt the Body of our People is diſarmed, and pacific to a Degree which tempts an Invaſion, we have Reaſon to apprehend Danger even from a few, whom the Spirit of Faction continues to ſtimulate. A few Banditti from the Mountains, trained by their Situation to a warlike

warlike Diſpoſition, might over-run the Country, and, in a critical Time, give Law to this Nation; but if our People were armed, and prepared to defend themſelves, the Inſults we have ſuffered, and the future Threatenings of an Enemy, would be equal Matter of Ridicule. The Spirit which ſeems to animate this Nation, is a Love of Liberty and Independence, along with a Confidence in Parliament; the Cry of a Faction therefore, which contradicts our favourite Tenets, will only rouze us in the Defence of them. When the Lovers of Freedom and their Country have an equal Uſe of Arms, the Cauſe of a Pretender to the Dominion and Property of this Iſland, is from that Moment deſperate.

Along with Scruples of this Kind, another Danger may preſent itſelf. It may be apprehended, perhaps, that a general Uſe of Arms among the People will encourage popular Leaders, and even furniſh them with a military Force, by which they may aſpire to ſubdue their Country. On this Head it may be obſerved, that whilſt

the Ideas of a Conſtitution remain, and animate the People to any Degree of national and public Spirit, we cannot fear that mere perſonal Attachments will lead them to ſacrifice theſe Views to the Ambition of particular Men: yet, it will be ſaid, that a Time of Corruption, may come, when the Ideas of a Conſtitution, of Liberty, and of Independence, will ceaſe to operate in the Minds of our People: that in ſuch a Conjuncture perſonal Attachments will divide them; a *Cæſar* will raiſe himſelf to the Head of one Party, and a *Pompey* to that of another. When the Zeal for a Country is loſt in all, each will ſtudy to advance his Leader, that he may follow him to the Summit, and partake of the Power and the Spoil. Such as look forward to an Age of this Complection, may lay aſide all Sollicitude about the Event of Commotions, which may then ariſe. They have figured to themſelves a deſperate Caſe, when Liberty and the Government of Laws muſt come to a Period. When the People become acceſſary to the Ambition of particular Men, it may indeed

deed be doubtful which of the contending Parties will prevail ; but the Public is ſure to find an abſolute Maſter in either. In ſuch a Conjuncture *Rome* found a Maſter, whoſe Reign appeared to be tolerable. The Conſpirators, therefore, did wrong in killing him, becauſe ſuch a Maſter was then the greateſt Bleſſing the Public had to hope for. *Julius* was killed only to make way for *Octavius*, and the Empire at Intervals found a *Trajan* and an *Antoninus*, but never more the Government of Laws ſecured by the Forms of a free State. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* lived an Age too late, and fell a Sacrifice to Maxims which were no longer the Springs of public Action. The Danger here pointed at is diſtant ; that of foreign Conqueſt is more nearly impending ; we cannot therefore doubt that a military Force is neceſſary to defend our Country ; and they who inſiſt upon this Objection as laid againſt a popular Militia alone, are concerned to ſhew that the Increaſe of a Standing Army is, in the Event, leſs dangerous to Liberty. Even the Example we have quoted will

ſtand in the Way of ſuch a Poſition. *Cæſar* and even *Pompey* found their Strength in thoſe Legions which they had too long commanded in different Provinces, Troops formed to all the Vices and Diſadvantages of a Standing Army: the Event therefore is rather a Proof of Danger from that Quarter.

It will be feared, perhaps, likewiſe, that a Familiarity with Arms may render private Quarrels and popular Riots more bloody. Should we admit this Conſequence, it will not follow, that a few domeſtic Inconveniencies ſhould deter us from the neceſſary Steps, in our own Defence, againſt a foreign Enemy. Proper Laws, and an active Police, may in a great meaſure prevent ſuch Inconveniencies; nor, indeeed, can we apprehend any remarkable Increaſe of ſuch Diſorders. Some military Spirit, we hope, may ariſe to the Advantage of our Country, but cannot fear that, in the preſent State of our Manners, this will degenerate into a ſavage Ferocity. In proportion as the Conſequences of Riots and Quarrels become

become ſerious, the Practice will become leſs frequent; for when an Evil becomes extreme, Men avoid it with proportionable Care; and, with a civilized People, the View of certain Conſequences promotes Diſcretion, Sobriety, and Circumſpection. From the ſame Conſideration we need not fear, that the Quarrels of Gentlemen will become, in any great Degree more frequent, or more fatal. Whilſt we lament the Conſequence of ſuch Quarrels, and condemn a Practice to be ſeverely reſtrained, it will be fair to admit, that ſome other Vices are corrected by it: Petulance, Impertinence, and Brutality give way to the Evil we are ſpeaking of. Theſe indeed are not the Characteriſtics of our Nation, and we ſhall not bleed much when ſuch Excreſcences are lopt off.

I have been particular in repreſenting the State of our Manners, and in recommending what I think is wanting in ſuch a State to render a Militia uſeful. I conſider a People thus recalled to the Uſe of Arms, as a Maſs, out of which we may form in every County a certain Number

of

of Regiments, proportioned to its Extent. I conſider every Man as deriving military Spirit more from the Uſe of Arms, and the Emulation revived in the Country, than from the ſtated Practice of any Motions, which we dignify with the Name of Military Diſcipline. If we have a People familiar with Arms, no Difficulty can remain about the Form of a Regiment, or in aſſigning the Time and Place of their Exerciſe. The great Point to be ſtudied is, how we may give Command its proper Authority, and come, as near as the Freedom of a People will permit, to the regular Subordination of an Army, when it is required that any Part of this Body ſhould act in that Capacity. The entire Force of military Law cannot be applied here, becauſe we do not propoſe to give up our Liberties; we propoſe to gain a Situation where we may better defend them. The Nomination of Officers, and ſupreme Command of the Militia, muſt no doubt belong to the King. He is more ſafely entruſted with this, than with the Command of a Standing Army. The Law, how-

however, may provide, that the Nomination of Officers, in the different Ranks, ſhould follow, as nearly as poſſible, that Subordination in point of Dignity and Wealth already ſubſiſting in this Nation. By this Means we take the Benefit of an Authority already eſtabliſhed, and we give it ſome new Addition, which will bring it ſtill nearer to military Subordination. This Addition will ariſe from the Influence of ſuch Rewards and Puniſhments as may be preſcribed in a military Law.

But before I enter on the Conſideration of ſuch Rewards and Puniſhments, I will mention ſome further Particulars, which I conſider as a neceſſary Foundation to the Superſtructure we propoſe to raiſe. The Reader has already been led to conſider the Neceſſity of permitting a general Uſe of Arms; that our People may be familiar with thoſe Weapons, they are to uſe in the Defence of their Country. It muſt be owned, however, that to excite in our People the Spirit which we deſire, ſomething more than a bare Permiſſion is neceſſary. And altho' it were granted, that the

the Freedom of ſhooting the Game, and the Practice of contending for a Prize, might, to a certain Degree, promote the Uſe of Arms; yet, a Queſtion ſtill remains, from what Motives we ſhall induce this People to take their Turn in the Militia, and ſubmit to the Conſtraint and Attendance which the Time of their Service will require. The Law no doubt hath a coercive Power, and may enact ſuch Penalties as promiſe to have this Effect. Shall we therefore truſt the Appearance of our People, in the Militia, to the Force of Compulſion alone? We live in a Time, perhaps, when Compulſion is not neceſſary, and in a Time of general Forwardneſs to receive, Arms which are prepared for the Defence of our Country. This Alacrity, however, is occaſional; it ſuppoſes an Alarm, and Times of no apparent Danger may be attended with other Inclinations. In ſuch Times, therefore, we ſhall be obliged to compel the People to take their Turn in this Service, and in every Inſtance have to do with a Perſon who deſires to avoid and ſhift his Appearance.

Such

Such a View of our Caſe will furniſh no great Hopes of military Strength to the Nation. We know, indeed, that in deſpotic Governments, and in the hired Forces of freer States, the Method of Compulſion alone is ſufficient; and that, without any remarkable Courage from Nature, or Inclination to the Service, Men are kept to their Duty, and forced to act in the Face of an Enemy. But when we conſider the Severities, by which this End is accompliſhed, we can no longer think of applying the ſame Means in the preſent Caſe: a Severity, which, without the Mixture of any other Power, can drive Men in the Face of Danger, and certain Death, is inconſiſtent with every Degree of civil Liberty. Thoſe Chains muſt be heavy indeed, which bind Men to ſuch a Taſk, and Puniſhments very prompt and terrifying, which make them forget the Love of Safety, and of Life. If we mean to perpetuate a military Force, upon the Principle of Compulſion, perhaps, no inferior Degrees will be ſufficient; and, if this were the only Principle, we could take

hold of, it were ſufficient to make us abandon the Project. So much is ſaid to prevent our truſting to an Engine, which we can employ but faintly; and which if not plied, in all its Powers, will be found unequal to the Work. We are encouraged, however, to go on, by the Examples of other Nations, who, conſiſting of Men inured to Arms, found Individuals not averſe to take their Turn of military Service, and forward in the Face of Danger, from other Motives than the Fear of Puniſhment. Such Nations commanded the Reſpect of their Neighbours, and were ever formidable, at leaſt, in their own Defence. The Reader will pleaſe to recollect, what Circumſtance in the Character of their Policy and Manners, we are to conſider as the Ground of this internal Strength. Upon recollecting what we know of the Hiſtory of all Nations, it will appear, that none ever poſſeſt a permanent military Force lodged in the Nerves and Sinews of a People, where they, who carried the Arms of the Public, were not the moſt reſpectable Part of the

the Nation. The Courage, the liberal Spirit, the Generoſity, and Self-denial of that Profeſſion, deſerve to be ſo claſſed, and will not have a Being upon other Terms. Men of high Mettle, who are formed for the Profeſſion of Arms, are likewiſe fond of Honour; and if we ſeparate the one from the other, that Profeſſion is inſtantly thrown among the Dregs of the People. A Nation is then obliged, by artificial Means, to patch up ſome military Power, which is held in Suſpenſe between Jealouſy and Contempt, and which, at every Interval of Peace, is dwindling into Weakneſs and Inſignificance. We may caſt our Eye upon a Nation, where Men of high Rank, in the Order of civil Policy, are above military Service: a Place in the Army, or the meaneſt Office in the Revenue, are made alike the Reward of a favourite Servant; the Love of Pay therefore, or Compulſion, are the only Powers, which can fill up the Ranks of ſuch an Army. We may obſerve another Nation, where the higheſt Dignities of the State derive a new Luſtre from mi-

litary Service, where even ſuch Dignities are obſcured without it. The People therefore in every Station will croud into this Quarter, and their Inducement is of ſuch a Nature, as to captivate the moſt worthy. At *Rome* the ſeveral Branches of the Civil Magiſtracy, the Senate and the Forum, opened the Way to Diſtinction and Honour; but when a Perſon laid his higheſt Claim to Conſideration and Applauſe, he reckoned the Years of his military Service, he ſhewed the Wounds he had received in the Defence of his Country, or left the Chair of Dignity and State, which he filled in the City, to ſtruggle with Dangers and Fatigue. Thus *Rome* was not only invincible, ſhe became dangerous to the World. The former is all our Aim: we may, therefore, in military Honours, ſtop many Degrees ſhort of the *Romans*.

The People are now in expectation, that a Law may ſoon paſs, to eſtabliſh a Militia in this Country, and that every Individual will be obliged, in his Turn, to that Degree of Confinement and Attendance, which his

Time

Time of Service will require. If Men perform this Part with Chearfulneſs, and from a Public Spirit, they deſerve ſuch Marks of Honour and new Privilege, as the Policy and Manners of our Country will admit of; and if they appear with any Marks of Reſpect and Diſtinction, more than half the Purpoſe of a compulſatory Law is provided for, with ſo much the greater Advantage, that the Inducement, which leads them to the Field, will continue to guide them in the Performane of their Duty.

When ſo much is ſaid, I ſhall be called upon, to ſpecify the Marks of Reſpect I have been pointing at. It would be ridiculous to propoſe any which might prove an Alteration in our Conſtitution, or be attended with Difficulty in the Practice. We are very happy in the Degrees of Subordination already eſtabliſhed in *Britain*, and when we talk of inveſting the Military with new Dignity, it is only propoſed to join that Character with what is already the moſt reſpectable and dignified in the State. The Character, therefore, muſt not only be ſeparated from every Degree of Meanneſs,

Meanneſs, but connected with ſuch Advantages as will draw the Attention of thoſe we mean to captivate. It may be hoped, that the liberal and ingenuous Spirit of our People, will eaſily connect Honour with the Service of their Country; and that ſome ſlender Diſtinctions may be ſufficient to ſettle their Minds in this Habit of thinking. Men of more fertile Invention, and more minute Acquaintance with the Train of our Policy, might be able to prompt or correct me in this Article. I will preſume to mention, only, a few Particulars in Illuſtration of what has been already propoſed.

That every Gentleman, who has ſerved in the rank of Colonel, ſhall riſe in his turn to the ſeveral Degrees of ſuperior Rank. That he ſhall, however, continue to ſerve as a Colonel in his turn, and have no Command in the Capacity of a General Officer, in the County, until the King, upon the Formation of an Army, ſhall make choice of him for that Purpoſe.

That Rank in the Militia ſhall be equal, in all reſpects, to that which is acquired in the

the Standing Army. With ſuch an Acceſſion, his Majeſty will be leſs confined, in the Choice of an Officer, where his Service requires a ſuperior Capacity. Thus in ſome Countries the Prince finds, in the Perſon of every Nobleman about his Court, the Rank of an Officer, and is free to employ him, in the Conduct of an Enterprize, if his Capacity and military Endowments otherwiſe juſtify the Choice. And I am inclined to believe, that with little Drudgery on the Parade, or loitering in Country Quarters, a Perſon may have Greatneſs of Mind equal to the Conduct of Armies, and be furniſhed with that kind of Knowledge and Reflection, which will qualify him for it.

To this I will add, that military Rank ſhould give Precedence equal with Titles of Nobility. They no doubt will naturally accompany one another; and where any of our Nobility decline this Service, they will bear with the Advancement of ſuch as become the Safeguards of their Country. The Honours of our Nobility are derived from ſuch Merit, and there can be no Impropriety,

propriety in claſſing the Merit of our own times in that Rank, which derives its hereditary Luſtre from a ſimilar Title. In purſuit of this Idea, a Field Marſhal, tho' only an Earl, or of an inferior Claſs of Nobility, would be held equal with a Duke. Such a Gradation purſued downwards, as far as it may with Propriety, ſhould be obſerved in the Ceremonial of the Court, in the Liſts of Parliament, and in the Order of State Proceſſions. The ſame Honours ſhould be communicated, by Courteſy, to the Wives and Children of ſuch Officers.

The Train of our Policy will likewiſe furniſh an Opportunity of diſtinguiſhing thoſe of an inferior Claſs. Let ſuch as actually ſerve in the Militia ſtand foremoſt in the Liſt of every Grand or Petty Jury to which they are called: and let ſuch alone be qualified to be choſen Foreman of a Jury.

Let them be married upon being only twice called in the Church.

Let them be the firſt in every County Liſt,

Liſt, and have the Place of Honour in voting at all Elections.

From ſuch a Diſtribution of Honours it may be expected, that the military Character will riſe in the Eſteem of the Public, and the Arms of the Nation ſettle in the Hands of thoſe, who deſerve its Confidence, on account of their perſonal Spirit, their Property, and Intereſt in its Preſervation. We cannot apprehend that in ſuch Hands they will be uſeleſs to the Public: Minds once poſſeſſed with the Love of Honour, are prepared for any Danger or Fatigue in Purſuit of it. We excite this Principle by pointing out a Path wherein it may exert itſelf; we hinder the Office of a Soldier from devolving, by Subſtitution, on the meaneſt of our People, and we give our Manners an Edge, which will render the Nation formidable to our Enemies.

This I apprehend to be the Claſs, wherein military Men ſhould ſtand, attended with the Reſpect and Conſideration they deſerve; and from ſuch Reflections we may return, with Advantage, to conſider the proper Sanctions of a military Law, which

is to affect and govern a free People. When we have inveſted Men with a new Privilege and Dignity, we have given them a Senſibility to a new kind of Puniſhment. It were happy for us, if the Sentiments of Honour alone, and the Fear of what we might ſuffer on this delicate Point, were ſufficient to occupy and govern the Minds of our People; we bear Signs of a lamentable Defect, where other Motives are neceſſary. This Principle connects the Dignity of Virtue with the Luſtre of a Station. It leads to commendable Actions, on the foot of Propriety and Decorum; it flies from what is vile with an Apprehenſion of Meanneſs and Degradation: joined with *Britiſh* Integrity and Patriotiſm, it would form the greateſt of Characters, would be a ſure Foundation to the Virtues of Public Life, and furniſh the beſt handle to military Puniſhments and Rewards. If Honour be the moſt natural Principle of military Virtue, every Sanction we deviſe, for the Government of a Militia, ſhould tend to maintain it in the Minds of our People. Every Inſtance of Shame or Degradation

ſeen

ſeen in the View of a Puniſhment, awakens the Care of our own Honour and Reputation. Inſtances of Impriſonment, corporal Puniſhment, or pecuniary Fines, tend to excite our Fears, and beget an Attention to ſordid Conſiderations. We would render Men brave from a Principle of Fear, or magnanimous from a mercenary Motive. If the Cry of Shame from a diſhonoured Nation cannot break the Heart of an Offender; nor the Applauſe which attends an honourable Action fire and ſtimulate the Mind, we have Reaſon to be ſollicitous for the Fate of our Country. Every criminal Proſecution for military Miſcarriage, is a Confeſſion of our Weakneſs. It is a Proof, that the Public Service hath devolved upon Perſons, who ſeek for a Livelihood or a Fortune at our Expence. It is a Proof that ſome Regulation is yet wanting, which might bring, into public View, that Store of Capacity, Spirit, and Probity, which lies concealed in the maſs of our People.

From ſuch Reflections I am inclined to wiſh, that the military Law calculated for our Militia, ſhould build its Authority on

the Foundation of Honour and Diſgrace alone. The Liberties of a *Britiſh* Subject, and the Honour of a *Britiſh* Soldierr as it has been pointed at, lay open many Parts, wherein we may wound an Offender, without aiming at his Life or his Perſon. The Public will become the Judge of Reputation: the ſame Evaſions will not ſave from Diſgrace, which may prevent a formal Sentence. When we act from an Apprehenſion of the latter, it is ſufficient, that we can ſave and palliate. If we fear the former, every Part of our Conduct muſt be clear of Suſpicion, as well as real Blemiſhes. It will be proper, that we come to Particulars, in order to conſider this Scheme with a nearer View to its execution. The Law has already provided againſt Crimes and civil Offences: I ſhall, therefore, conſider Mutiny in time of War, and deſerting a Poſt in the Face of an Enemy, as the higheſt Offence a Soldier can be guilty of. The following Cenſure, or a like Degradation and Diminution of Privilege might be inflicted in ſuch a Caſe. That every ſuch Offender be diſmiſſed the

Militia

Militia for ever: that his Name and his Marks be publiſhed: that it ſhall be lawful to ſtrike him: that he ſhall have no Action of Damages for an Aſſault, nor return a Blow, without being liable to ſuch an Action: but that to maim his Body, or occaſion his Death, ſhall be equally criminal as in the Caſe of any other his Majeſty's Subjects. Humanity forbids the Cruelties he might meet with; it is only intended that his Example ſhould give an Opinion of Shame and Degradation in Cowardice.

From this Height, we may deſcend by, a proper Gradation of Penalties, to the ſmaller Offences. That, for Inſtance, Mutiny, or Diſobedience of ſuch Orders as relate to the Muſter or Exerciſe of the Regiment in Time of Peace, ſhall forfeit all or any Branch of the Militia Privileges, as a Court Martial ſhall ſee fit to determine. That for Negligence, or ſmall Offences on the Parade, it ſhall be in the Power of the Colonel, or Commanding Officer of the Regiment, Company or Diviſion, without Trial, to diſgrace the Offender, by ordering him out of the Rank

in

in which he ſtands, to one leſs honourable, or to ſtand in the Front without his Arms, till the Exerciſe of the Day is over.

A Syſtem of Penalties, upon ſuch Principles, may at firſt ſight appear, too refined and fanciful. It may be thought, that they will give little Authority to our Law, not being of a Nature, that will influence the Multitude. We may obſerve however, that Laws often form and aſſimilate the Minds of Men to their own Tendency; and it might be expected, that the Signals of Honour and Diſgrace thus held up to the Public, would meet with a new Degree of Attention. It may be affirmed, that great Numbers would receive the Impreſſion, and be governed by the View of ſuch Forfeitures as we have propoſed: nor can we doubt, that inferior Numbers governed by ſuch a Principle, would form a greater Strength and Security to this Nation, than any promiſcuous Multitude trained to other Views. If the Law therefore ſhall direct us to exclude and diſqualify for the Service, ſuch as prove inſenſible to theſe Motives, the Militia will be only cleared

of

of an Incumbrance, and our Force collected into a ſelect Band which may be employed with Confidence.

Gentlemen will be pleaſed to conſider, what other manner of Correction they would apply in this Caſe. Pecuniary Fines muſt be limited, and to very inconſiderable Sums. It will bring no Diſgrace to be fined of a few Shillings or Pence. The Rich will boaſt of ſuch a Cenſure, and be fond of ſhewing, that they can bear it with Eaſe. It may indeed diſtreſs the Poor, and leſſen the Quantity of his own and his Children's Bread, but will not furniſh him with a Motive to become a better Soldier. Impriſonment and corporal Puniſhment are on the Way to Deſpotiſm; and if they linger ſhort of that Termination, will prove ineffectual. If one Degree of Severity does not avail, we muſt proceed to a higher. The Ax muſt come in Aid of the Rod, and the Wheel and the Torture terminate the View of an obſtinate Offender. Even if we ſhould mix any Tincture of ſuch Severity with our Puniſhments, they ſhould ſtill owe their chief Influence to the

the Shame and Diſgrace which they bring. And when this Point is ſtretched to a certain Degree, an Offender ſhould be diſqualified to carry Arms; becauſe if, with ſuch Marks upon him, he continues in the Rank and Claſs of our Militia, he will depreſs better Spirits, and bring the Character of a Soldier to his own Level.

When the Subject is brought ſo far, the Reader may expect to find ſome Plan for the Formation and Diſcipline of a Regiment. It was none of my Intention to offer any thing on that Head: nor does it appear a Matter of great Difficulty. I thought we were in danger of hurrying on to this Part of the Inſtitution, without attending to Conſiderations, which were previouſly neceſſary. I have endeavoured to explain myſelf on theſe Points, and think that Regiments in whom their Country may confide, ſhould be the Flower of a People familiar with Arms, and that they ſhould find Eſteem and Conſideration connected with their Appearance in that Station. I have likewiſe hinted at the Scheme of a Diſcipline agreeable to this Idea of a Militia.

Militia. The Paper, however, may appear to end abruptly without the Conſideration of ſome other Particulars. It may be aſked, by what Rule we are to proceed in the firſt levying and Formation of our Regiments? Are we to make a compulſatory Law, or truſt to the voluntary Appearance of our People? I anſwer, that an Act may paſs in the Form of a compulſatory Law, which yet will find a chearful and ready Compliance, and few Inſtances where its coercive Power will be felt. If his Majeſty's Order is ſent, into the Country, to enrol, without Choice or Diſtinction, every Perſon able to carry Arms, there will appear, perhaps, a general Inclination to decline the Burden. If, on the contrary, Perſons of a certain Eſtimation alone are pointed at, ſuch an Order will be underſtood as a Call unto a Station of Repute and Credit, and Men will be glad to find their Names ſtand in the Liſt. I will explain myſelf in a few Particulars; and the Reader will pleaſe to remember, that the Limits of Rank and Qualification here mentioned, are rather

given, in Illuſtration of the general Idea, than as Particulars fully digeſted and corrected.

Let the proper Officers in every County, City, and Borough, be directed to make out compleat Liſts in the following Terms.

Of the Noblemen and Gentlemen poſſeſs'd of a certain Valuation, qualified for the Rank of Colonels.

Of all poſſeſs'd of a lower Valuation, qualified for Field Officers.

Of another Valuation, qualified for Captains. And let all Freeholders, having the Valuation of one hundred a Year, be underſtood to be qualified for inferior Officers, and not obliged to ſerve as Soldiers.

Let the remaining Liſt conſiſt of ſuch as poſſeſs a certain Extent of Ground, and under one hundred a Year. Let a ſimilar Method be followed in all Cities and Boroughs, that the lower Claſs, here likewiſe, may conſiſt of ſuch as are reſpectable among the Inhabitants.

This lower Liſt, to avoid Repetition, I ſhall call, that of Freemen. It excludes all

all Cottagers, Day-Labourers and Servants. It muſt likewiſe exclude every Perſon at preſent, or for the future, who has, or ſhall be convicted of any criminal or infamous Charge before the Civil Magiſtrate.

When his Majeſty is pleaſed to appoint his Officers, let them draw by Lot from the Liſt of Freemen, the Names of ſuch Perſons as are to take the firſt Turn of military Duty; and when their Time is expired, a new Appointment of Officers may proceed in the ſame Manner, until the whole have taken their Turn.

Let it be lawful for a Freeman to ſubſtitute another Freeman in his Place: but the Subſtitute alone, in this Caſe, ſhall enjoy the Honours and Privileges of the Militia. Let it be lawful for a Freeman to ſubſtitute his Son, who, tho' not in the Liſt of Freemen, whilſt he lives in his Father's Family, ſhall, in this Caſe, enjoy the Honours of the Militia, and communicate the ſame to his Father likewiſe. Let the Names of ſuch as refuſe to preſent themſelves, or ſubſtitute another in the above Terms, be ſtruck off the Liſt

of Freemen, and excluded for Life: let this, if thought neceſſary, affect their Children.

If it is apprehended, that the Liſt qualified for the Rank of inferior Officers, may exceed, in Proportion, the other Claſſes, let the Number of ſuch Officers, appointed to a Regiment, be increaſed accordingly. And when, in the Field, the ſeveral Poſts in a Battalion are diſpoſed of, according to Rank and Seniority, the Supernumeraries may take Poſt by the Colours, which they are ſuppoſed to carry and defend. To this Particular, which ſeems to relate immediately to the Form of a Regiment, I will add another; That in every Company, once in three Months, a Prize ſhall be contended for, by ſhooting at a Mark. That all who have ever won ſuch a Prize, in different Companies, ſhall, when the Regiment is aſſembled, form a Diviſion apart, and take Poſt in the Flank, or advanced in the Front, commanded by four Officers from the Colours.

Such

Such broken Hints may illuſtrate the Meaning of this Eſſay. A Perſon, tho' ill qualified to adjuſt every Particular, may yet ſtrike out general Views, not unworthy of the public Attention. I will conclude this tedious Performance with obſerving, that if we reſt our Militia upon its proper Baſis, a general Uſe of Arms, and the Love of Honour, we ſhall find Men hardy enough to ſerve their Country; that Duty will employ the moſt deſerving of our People, whoſe Sword, without alarming the public Liberty, will be a ſure Defence againſt a foreign Enemy. If, on the contrary, theſe Points are neglected, the Form and pretended Diſcipline of a Militia will be vain, and our Arms muſt come by Subſtitution into the Hands of the leaſt reputable Claſs of the People, who cannot be reduced into the Order of an Army, and who are Strangers to the Sentiments and the Attention to perſonal Character, which ſuch a Duty would require.

F I N I S.